

CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF BLACK CARIBBEAN YOUTH AND ADULTS WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Abstract: *This study explored the civic engagement of English-speaking black Caribbean adults within the United Kingdom. We situated our work within the literature on segmented assimilation to guide analyses and make interpretations. We used the Citizenship Survey of 2010-2011 (N = 16,966) to conduct our analyses as this database contained a sizeable sample of Caribbean adults (n = 1100). We used descriptive and regression analyses to explore the civic participation of Caribbeans and determined the extent to which sex, age, and generation status mattered. Findings demonstrate that Caribbeans are more likely to enact civic participation rather than activism and consultation. Their main motivational factors for being engaged were to serve the community and make local changes. Finally, female and 1.5 generation Caribbeans were more civically engaged. We discuss our findings in terms of assimilation patterns, ethnic minority integration, and educative strategies communities may take to increase civic engagement among Caribbean adults.*

Keywords: *Civic engagement, black Caribbeans, United Kingdom, generation status, segmented assimilation*

INTRODUCTION

Defining Civic Engagement

Traditions and approaches to civic engagement vary throughout the world according to different countries, their histories, cultures and ideologies. These factors translate into many different interpretations and enactment of civic engagement. Despite the varied meanings across the globe, many nation states identify civic engagement as the actions of a person in civil society that contribute to the larger context of the social and common

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good (Munk, 2010). Through these responsibilities, actions and ideologies, individuals are in a relationship between themselves and the state, leading to a variety of social and political actions. Being civically engaged also imposes certain obligations in terms of what the state expects from its citizens. These actions are typically centered around political behaviour such as voting or serving in the military. Therefore, citizens meet certain obligations through their actions, and these can be seen as enhancing the common good and of vital interest to all citizens.

However, the concept of civic engagement has many more layers of meaning than that of political participation. In the context of the United Kingdom, civic engagement takes on certain kinds of behaviour and attitudes that construct a narrative that speaks to a sense of belonging, among other things. This sense of belonging, or tie to a community or place, begins to directly shape and influence other elements of citizen actions (Ekman & Amna, 2012). Through their behaviour, individuals share a moral code, a set of rights and obligations, and loyalty to a common civilization through a sense of identity. British citizens' lens of engagement have been shaped by the government's desire to form a single society composed of the integration of different ethnic groups, generations, and faiths, regardless of nationality or birthplace (Pattie et al., 2003). This desire, though, is juxtaposed to the actual sociopolitical context of the United Kingdom regarding public attitudes towards specific ethnic minority groups. So, while the United Kingdom's philosophy of supporting the "civic journey" and civic actions of individuals helps citizens develop more nuanced relationships of their positionality as UK citizens within their nation-state and their immediate community (HM Government, 2018), we recognize that positionality is not singular. That is, positionalities vary by individual as well as at the group level. Thus, the varying positionalities of different ethnic groups within this society to some extent shape their enactments of civic engagement.

In the United Kingdom, most individuals view civic engagement as a central concept that shapes the lives of individuals in multiple ways. Civic behaviour deepens people's understanding of the role of government and how it impacts their lives while also providing them with greater opportunities to make social connections. These connections tend to lead to greater levels of social and economic networks that are often positively correlated with higher rates of trust and voluntary activity. When coupled together, these actions provide added opportunities for individuals to build social bonds and become integrated and engaged in their local communities. For immigrant communities, this integration is even more beneficial for them to see themselves as blended members of the British society (Bee & Pachi, 2017) and to adopt civic values found within the British culture (Brooks, 2013).

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One ethnic group in the United Kingdom that has been strategic in finding the balance between citizenship and civic identity has been black Caribbeans. This study examines the civic engagement of black Caribbean adults within the United Kingdom and highlights differences in engagement by generation status. Note that the integration of ethnic minority groups into society is a long-standing objective of the UK government due to its history of social exclusion towards Asian and Black ethnic groups (Ali & Gidley, 2014; Young, 2003). Evidence of this objective are the Race Relations Act of 1965 and its amendments (Hatton, 1998); the government's shifts in tone from assimilation to multiculturalism at different points in history (Young, 2003); the Equality Acts of 2006 and 2010; and the Borders, Citizenship & Immigration Act of 2009 (Ali & Gidley, 2014). It is useful therefore to examine civic engagement patterns by generation status as findings would serve as integration indicators over time. A focus on generation status is also important because civic engagement in the United Kingdom is positively linked to upward class mobility (Li et al., 2005; 2008). The findings therefore allow us to make loose inferences about black Caribbean adults' social mobility over time.

Before focusing attention on what the existing literature says about the civic engagement of black Caribbeans, we first briefly explain the relationship between civic engagement and social capital. We also provide a brief overview of the migration of black Caribbean peoples to the United Kingdom in order to give readers a better grasp of their migratory paths into the country and some characteristics of their positionality in society.

Civic Engagement and Social Capital

Broadly defined, social capital is the connection of people and resources that ultimately allows communities to move smoothly. When people are confident and reliable, and they are exposed to repeated interactions with their fellow citizens, social transactions become more meaningful for the individual and the common good. Social capital comes in many forms, ranging from basic trust and altruism, to community cooperation and adherence to the rule of law. We can think of it as a concept that moves in conjunction with other human and financial resources and can have a significant impact on an individual's participation in the civic, economic and social life. In other words, social capital allows the mass to surpass the sum of its constituents. This is especially salient when we integrate the concept of social capital and ethnic minority groups (Morales & Giugni, 2016; Schaeffer, 2016).

The concepts of civic engagement and social capital were first noted as equivalent concepts in the work of Putman (2000). Putnam noticed that there were forms of social capital that could be used for social purposes and treats it as a public good. He argued that the participatory potential or civic orientation of individuals builds trust and becomes a collective trait of a nation and its people (Putnam, 1993). He also noted that

there are two types of social capital. One he termed as a tie, a characteristic of homogenous groups such as family or friends, distinguished by a dense trust. The second is a bridge, which arises from the association of heterogeneous individuals and groups in social, cultural, ethnic and generational terms. When bridging is combined with civic engagement, we often see a weaving of networks of social cooperation at a much higher scale and power. Although the social capital of the tie exercises important functions, it is not as strong as the bridging relationships and interrelated processes that impact groups.

Brief history of black Caribbean groups in the United Kingdom

The British Nationality Act of 1948 (www.legislation.gov.uk/United_Kingdom) granted those born in the United Kingdom or British colonies the status of UK citizenship. It also simultaneously retained the term *British subject* to cover all commonwealth countries, as well as newly independent commonwealth countries. By doing so, it distinguished between British citizens due to UK or colonial citizenship and those who were citizens because they were part of the Commonwealth (Fomina, 2010). After WWII, Britain actively recruited labour migrants from its colonies and encouraged nurses and manual workers from the West Indies to work in its transportation and health fields (Ali & Gidley, 2014; Peach, 1991). Thus, immediately post WWII, the typical English-speaking black Caribbeans (also known as the West Indians) that came to the United Kingdom were skilled or semi-skilled labourers (Peach, 1996). After 1955, there was a shift in skill level with lesser skilled black Caribbean labourers entering (Peach, 1996). Note that the majority of black Caribbeans that entered the United Kingdom soon after WWII were from Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands, then Trinidad and British Guiana/Guyana (Peach, 1991). In short, the early influx of English-speaking black Caribbean groups post WWII makes black Caribbeans one of the most established migrant groups there.

After the 1960s, immigration policy in the United Kingdom became more stringent for Commonwealth countries and new laws were created so that only those from former and present colonies who demonstrated that they had pre-arranged jobs, special skills, or were responding to specific domestic needs could enter (Hatton, 1998). The increasingly stringent immigration laws culminated in the Immigration Act of 1971 which reversed the citizenship privileges the British Nationality Act of 1948 afforded migrants from Commonwealth countries. By 1997, new immigration policy laws were in place that encouraged the large-scale immigration of highly skilled and educated individuals (as opposed to semi- or low-skilled workers) into the United Kingdom (Coleman & Rowthorn, 2004). These changes increased the likelihood of immigrants entering the United Kingdom after the 1970s being more educated and skilled as compared to earlier groups that entered in the 1950s and 1960s. From this information, one can see that the

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majority of black Caribbeans who entered during the 1950s and 1960s (that is, the first generation) were less skilled and less educated compared to the first generation of other migrant groups who came later (e.g. Indians, Pakistanis, African-Asians, and Bangladeshi immigrants who came in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s vs. the highly educated Chinese and African immigrants who came in the 1990s and 2000s respectively [Crawley, 2009; Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2010; Van Hear et al., 2004]).

Since the British Nationality Act of 1948, there has always been a consistent undercurrent of native-born British who feel as though ethnic minority migrants threaten their national identity, social cohesion, and compete for their limited resources (Cheong et al, 2007; Fomina, 2010). In fact, the United Kingdom has a history of social exclusion and discrimination against Black and Asian ethnic groups (Crawley, 2009; Fomina, 2010; Hatton & Wheatley Price, 1999). For the English-speaking black Caribbeans in particular, we know this has correlated with a number of social disadvantages. These are reflected in higher rates of unemployment (Congress, 2012); lower levels of education attainment (Waters, et al., 2013); discrimination within secondary education systems (Gosai, 2009); perceived police discrimination (Lloyd & Foster, 2009); misconceptions about their levels of criminal behaviour (Bowling and Phillips, 2006); under-identification for specialized forms of mental health care (Bhui et al., 2003); and fewer social capital supports (Maxwell, 2012). Taking all this into account, we may hypothesize that the forms of civic engagement measured by national surveys may be lower for black Caribbeans simply due to their lower levels of social capital. This raises the question as to what black Caribbean civic engagement trajectory looks like over time within the group as well as in comparison to other ethnic groups.

Previous Findings on Civic Engagement of Black Caribbeans in the United Kingdom

In this section we present findings on black Caribbean civic engagement that predominantly utilized large scale databases. These types of studies have large enough sample sizes to inform on the roles that ethnicity and generational status play in civic engagement. We also include smaller scale empirical studies that compared black Caribbean civic engagement to that of other ethnic groups to get a more rounded picture of engagement. We do acknowledge that this approach misses more nuanced political engagement within the black Caribbean community, though the goal is to set the foundation for distinct ethnic and generational patterns using representative databases.

The literature demonstrates that there are some different patterns in civic engagement between ethnic minorities, age cohorts, and generation status within the United Kingdom (Anwar, 2001; Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG], 2010; McAndrew & Voas, 2014; O'Toole & Gale, 2013; Richards & Marshall, 2002; Sanders et al.,

2014). Overall, though, ethnic minority patterns are more similar than different to the white majority when considering a number of engagement factors (Haste & Hogan, 2006; Sanders et al., 2014). For black Caribbeans specifically, there appears to be lower voting levels compared to other ethnic groups (Anwar, 2001). However, they tend to have highest involvement with informal volunteering (DCLG, 2010). Demireva and Heath (2014) found that black Caribbeans were more likely to engage in civic action than black Africans and Pakistanis, though they were no different from Indian, Bangladeshi, and other ethnic minorities. Campbell and McLean (2002) found that while black Caribbeans had high participation in informal face-to-face networking, they were less likely to be a part of formal groups for political action and activist networks, even though they had many opportunities to do so. They also had little to no involvement with community groups linked to hobbies and leisure. Overall, Campbell and McLean found that the black Caribbean identity was less likely linked to political resourcefulness as compared to the Asian identity.

Generation Status and Civic Engagement in the United Kingdom

The conversation about the impact of generational status on ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom is often framed in terms of social mobility and acquired social capital, whereas in the United States, it is framed in terms of assimilation theories (Alba & Nee, 1997; Li et al., 2008; Morales & Pilati, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Quirke et al., 2009). Some European scholars raise the question as to whether assimilation theories are useful in the United Kingdom context, given the different migrant profiles there compared to the United States (Quirke et al., 2009). In contrast, other scholars think it is quite appropriate to use the literature base developed in the United States to inform studies on the impact of generation status in the United Kingdom because the United Kingdom shares many similarities with the United States (Waters et al., 2013). These similarities include citizenship by birthplace rather than ethnicity; the levels of welfare and social benefits; some overlap in three migrant populations (black Caribbean, Indian, Chinese); similar issues with race divisions; clear patterns of acceptance, social exclusion, and deep-rooted prejudices towards certain ethnic groups; distinct “minority” experiences, and policy developed to support multiculturalism and antiracism since the 1960s (Waters et al., 2013).

With the above debate mind, we contend that it is appropriate to evoke assimilation theories here and acknowledge recent UK studies that have done so to varying degrees (Bowe 2019; 2017; Clark & Lindley, 2009; Dubuc, 2012; Lessard-Phillips, 2017). We use the lens of segmented assimilation theory (Portes, 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993) to guide our analyses and make sense of our findings. We believe that aspects of segmented assimilation theory are relevant here, given the profile of migrants

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our sample represented (see Fomina, 2010; Geddes, 2005; Hatton & Wheatley Price, 1998 for specifics on UK migrant profiles). Segmented assimilation theory states that there are individual and group level characteristics that shape how newcomers integrate into the society they settle in (settler society). These factors include the history of relations between the settler society and society of origin/birth, perceptions natives hold of the newcomer groups, and the cultural similarities between immigrants' birthplaces and the settler society. Others include the cultural and economic barriers newcomers encounter, the social and cultural capital resources the newcomer group has established within the settler society, and the settler society's views about multiculturalism (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Portes, 2014).

Portes and colleagues emphasize that it is important to pay attention to the trajectories of the *children* of immigrants (that is, the second and third generations) as trajectories show three main patterns: assimilation into mainstream culture, assimilation into the underclass; the achievement of economic advancement while maintaining close affiliation with values of the country of origin (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Their later works suggest that the children of immigrants who demonstrate *selective* acculturation, that is, those who endorse the language, values, and customs of *both* cultures, are the ones who tend to overcome negative experiences and barriers their parents faced (Portes, 2014).

Previous findings in the United Kingdom demonstrated that 1.5 generation and 2nd generation ethnic minorities were more civically engaged than their 1st generation counterparts (McAndrew & Voas, 2014). Likewise, Demireva and Heath (2014) found that second generation ethnic minorities were more likely to take civic action than their first-generation counterparts. Similarly, Sanders et al. (2014) found that second generation black Caribbeans and Africans were more engaged than their first-generation counterparts. Taken together, the literature suggests assimilation towards mainstream culture for civic engagement amongst later generations. However, it is to be noted that these authors collapsed race groups together, so less is known about the specific patterns of separate ethnic groups. The gaps in the literature demonstrate a need to examine ethnic groups separately as patterns may differ according to ethnic group. They also show the need to capture civic engagement beyond the second generation. Hence, this study focuses on black Caribbean adults only and we examine their civic behaviour patterns, motivations behind engagement, and the extent to which generation status impacts their engagement.

Measures of Civic Engagement within the United Kingdom

This study used data from the UK's 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey (DCLG, 2011a). The Citizenship Survey defined civic engagement in three broad strands: civic activism, civic

consultation, and civic participation. The developers of the survey described and measured these strands as follows:

Civic activism – which refers to involvement either in direct decision-making about local services or issues, or in the actual provision of these services by taking on a role such as a local councillor, school governor or magistrate

Civic consultation – which refers to active engagement in consultation about local services or issues through activities such as attending a consultation group or completing a questionnaire about these services; and

Civic participation – which covers wider forms of engagement in democratic processes, such as contacting an elected representative, taking part in a public demonstration or protest, or signing a petition (DCLG, 2011b, p 6).

Respondents were also asked about what *motivated* them to enact their particular forms of civic engagement, and about their *beliefs about their influence* on political decisions. Thus, this study offers information on the primary forms of civic engagement enacted by black Caribbeans, the extent to which certain demographics matter, their sources of motivation to enact civic engagement, and their political efficacies. Findings are important to educators, policy-makers, and community organizers as they speak to strategies that black Caribbean communities can capitalize upon in order to promote civic engagement among their people.

Research Questions

1. Which form of civic engagement (activism, consultation, participation) was more likely enacted by black Caribbean adults?
2. What were the motivational factors that influenced black Caribbean adults to become civically engaged?
3. To what extent do black Caribbeans believe they can influence political decisions affecting their local area and the larger region of the United Kingdom?
4. To what extent did generation status, age, and sex matter in Caribbean civic engagement?

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METHOD

Database

The Citizenship Survey of 2010-2011 (DCLG, 2011a) was one in a series of cross-national cohort studies administered to adults in private-owned households in the United Kingdom every two years between 2001 and 2011. The purpose of these surveys was to establish a nationally representative evidence base for the Department for Communities and Local Government to inform its decision-making and shape policy. All datasets in this series are anonymized and publicly available from the UK Data Archive (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/>). The 2010-2011 survey (N = 16,966), collected data from adults 16 years and older regarding their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour patterns regarding: community cohesion, identity and social networks, racial and religious prejudice, discrimination, community empowerment, volunteering, civic engagement, and rights and responsibilities. It also collected socio-demographic data on the respondents. Notably, there was a sizable number of English-speaking black Caribbean/Mixed Caribbean people represented in the 2011 study (n = 1100) which allows us to answer questions on their civic attitudes and behaviour patterns. (For more detailed information on the survey, see the 2010-2011 Citizens Survey Technical Report found within the United Kingdom Data Archive. It provides the items for the questionnaire, derived variables, processes used to obtain the data, sampling design, ethnic boosts, how it dealt with missingness, and recommended weights to use for particular analyses).

Description of Sample of Caribbean Adults in the Database

This study used data on black Caribbean/Mixed Caribbean adults only (n=1100). To orient the reader to the characteristics of this sample, we summarize the relevant demographics in Tables 1 and 2 below: respondents' birthplace, their parents' birthplace, sex, age, whether they were of one ethnicity (black Caribbean) or mixed ethnicity (black Caribbean and White), and their generation status.

The 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey did not contain a variable for generation status, so we created one based on demographic information found within the database. Knowing the respondent's birthplace (United Kingdom or other), birthplace of parents, and age at arrival is key to identifying the generational status of the respondent. There are different ways in which researchers can denote generational status (Berry, et al., 2006; García Coll & Marks 2012; Lessard-Phillips & Li, 2017; Rumbaut, 2004; Kesler & Schwartzman, 2015). The more extensive classification schemes offered by Rumbaut (2004) and Lessard-Phillips & Li (2017) capture birthplace of respondent and parents, ethnicity, and age at arrival. The database, however, did not gather information on age at arrival in the United Kingdom. This study therefore used the schema offered by García Coll & Marks

(2012) because it takes into account birthplaces of children and parents as well as the influence of ethnic minority/majority status of the parents. We denoted respondents who were born *outside* the United Kingdom to non-UK-born parents as first generation. Respondents born *within* the United Kingdom to non-UK born parents were second generation. Respondents born *within* the United Kingdom to parents born within the United Kingdom were denoted as third generation. Respondents born *within or outside* the United Kingdom to one foreign-born and one UK-born parent were denoted 1.5 generation. Respondents born *outside* the United Kingdom to UK-born parents were also 1.5 generation. Table 1 summarizes the black Caribbean sample by ethnicity, age, and sex.

Table 1

Ethnicity, Sex, and Age of the Caribbean adult sample

Ethnicity & Sex	N	Percent
Black Caribbean, males	360	32.7%
Mixed Caribbean, males	79	7.2%
Black Caribbean, females	552	50.2%
Mixed Caribbean, females	109	9.9%
Total	1100	100.0%
Age Group		
16-25	146	13.3%
26-34	172	15.6%
35-49	401	36.5%
50-64	170	15.5%
65-74	129	11.7%
75+	82	7.5%
Total	1100	100.0%

Table 2 summarizes their ethnicity, birthplaces, parents' birthplaces, and denoted generation status. Of the n=1100, 1085 lived in England, nine lived in Wales, and the remaining six individuals had missing information on location. Table 2 shows that the largest group of respondents was born outside the United Kingdom. Further, the majority had both parents born outside the United Kingdom. This indicates that overall these adults were somewhat less acculturated to the UK environment, given their short family histories there. Overall, 1st generation comprised 40% of the sample, 1.5 generation was 10%, 2nd generation was 32%, and 3rd generation was 16%. Two percent of the sample had missing information on parents' birthplace.

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Table 2

Ethnicity, Birthplace (respondent & parent), and Generation status

	Parents UK-born 1	One parent born outside UK 2	Both parents born outside UK 3
Ethnicity	N	N	N
Black Caribbean born in UK	109 (3 rd generation)	41 (1.5 generation)	334 (2 nd generation)
Black Caribbean born elsewhere	2 (1.5 generation)	5 (1.5 generation)	407 (1 st generation)
Mixed Caribbean born in UK	69 (3 rd generation)	65 (1.5 generation)	19 (2 nd generation)
Mixed Caribbean born elsewhere	0	2 (1.5 generation)	29 (1 st generation)
Total	180	113	789

Note: Generation classification schema follows García Coll & Marks (2012) guidelines. In total there are 1st generation (n=436); 1.5 generation (n=115); 2nd generation (n = 353), 3rd generation (n= 178). Of the n =1100 Black Caribbean/Mixed Caribbean sample, 18 had missing information on parents' birthplace.

Variables examined

There were two variables that examined *participation*:-

- In the last 12 months, have you contacted any of the people listed on the card? (e.g. local councillor, member of Parliament etc.)
- In the last 12 months, have you taken part in: a) public meeting, b) rally, c) demonstration/ protest, or d) signed a petition?

There were two variables that examined *activism*:-

- In the last 12 months, have you done any of the things listed on this card? (e.g. local councillor, volunteer Special Constable, etc.)
- In the last 12 months, have you been a member of any of the groups listed on this card? (e.g. A group making decisions on local services for young people, etc.)

There was one variable that examined *consultation*:-

- In the last 12 months, have you taken part in a consultation about local services or problems in your local area in any of the ways listed on this card? (e.g. completed a questionnaire, attended a public meeting, etc.)

The database contained derived variables that grouped responses to the five items based on the strand they represented (participation, consultation, and activism). It coded responses as yes/no if the respondent engaged in the activity within the past 12 months. A fourth derived variable captured all three forms of civic engagement and responses were coded as yes/no for enacting any form of civic engagement. We based our analyses on these four derived variables. (see Appendix A for exact wording of items).

Motivation. One item asked respondents what motivated them to become involved. It was: “People get involved for all kinds of reasons. Thinking about all the things you have mentioned, why did you get involved? Please choose your answer from this card. You can choose up to five reasons”. There were 13 options to choose from. Examples were “my political beliefs”, “I want to serve my community”, “I thought it would help my career” etc.

Political efficacy. Two items asked respondents to what extent they believed they could influence decisions affecting their local area and the United Kingdom. Response choices were on an ordinal scale ranging from “definitely agree”, “tend to agree”, “tend to disagree”, “definitely disagree” and “don’t know”. The database contained two derived variables that collapsed their responses into two categories – “definitely agree/tend to agree”; “tend to disagree/definitely disagree”. We examined these two derived variables to determine black Caribbean adults’ political efficacy.

Sex. For analysis, males were the referent group (1 = males, 2 = females).

Age. Age was an ordinal variable represented by 6 age bands; 16-24, 25-34, 35-49, 50-64, 65-75 and 75+.

Control variable. We used the England (and Wales) Index for Multiple Deprivation to control for socioeconomic status. This index takes into account an accumulation of disadvantages based on seven domains: health and disability status; neighborhood crime and disorder; income; employment status; education and skills; barriers to housing and services; and environmental conditions. The higher the score (which was transformed into an ordinal variable ranging from 1 through 5 in the database), the more disadvantaged the individual (or household) is. See United Kingdom Office for National Statistics <https://www.ons.gov.uk/unitedkingdom/> for detailed explanation of this index.

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ANALYSIS

For analysis, we collapsed the Mixed Caribbean with black Caribbean to increase cell sizes. We acknowledge that in the United Kingdom, mixed race children and adolescents appear to have different experiences from non-mixed adolescents (Platt, 2012). Thus, it is possible that this is also true within the adult population. Collapsing the Caribbean groups is therefore a possible limitation to the interpretation of our study.

We used descriptive analyses to address the first three research questions. We calculated the percentage summaries for each form of civic engagement (RQ1), the main motivational factors (RQ2), and black Caribbean adults' beliefs about their influence over political decisions in their local areas versus all of the United Kingdom (RQ3). We addressed RQ4 by regressing generational status, age, and sex onto the derived variable for all forms of civic engagement. We used binary logistic regression since our outcome variable was binary. We controlled for socioeconomic status by using the England/Wales Index for Multiple Deprivation, given that there was variability amongst our sample on this background variable. We also included the political efficacy variable for the local area as a covariate since previous research shows political efficacy correlates with engagement. We excluded the political efficacy item for the United Kingdom, seeing that it had less variability in responses. When applicable, we compared result to the most recent report of the Citizenship Survey series which was the report for the 2009-2010 administration (DCLG, 2011c).

RESULTS

RQ1. Which form of civic engagement (activism, consultation, participation) was more likely enacted by black Caribbeans?

Amongst the black Caribbean adults, 39% (n = 427) indicated that they were involved in some form of civic engagement, which was lower than the general population percent from the 2009-2010 administration of the survey (44%, DCLG, 2011c). Findings in Table 3 demonstrate that black Caribbean adults were more likely to enact participation, followed by consulting, then activism. These findings were similar to trends found among the general population from the previous year as well (DCLG, 2011c).

Table 3*Forms of civic engagement enacted by Black Caribbeans*

Type of Civic Engagement		N	% of total sample
Civic activism in the past 12 months (e.g. participate in rally, demonstration, protest)	No	989	
	Yes	111	10.1%
Civic consultation in the past 12 months (e.g. complete questionnaire, attend meeting or a group)	No	941	
	Yes	159	14.5%
Civic participation in last 12 months (i.e. contact government officials)	No	772	
	Yes	328	29.8%

Note: Of the 1100, n = 427 reported enacting civic engagement.

RQ2. What were the motivational factors that influenced black Caribbean adults to become civically engaged?

Of the n=1100 black Caribbean adults, only 111 responded to this item. Findings in Table 4 demonstrate that the top two motivational factors behind their civic engagement were that they wanted to serve their communities and that they wanted to improve local services. The least given motivational factors were their own political beliefs and thinking that it would help their careers.

Table 4*Reasons why Caribbean adults enacted civic engagement*

	N	%
I wanted to serve my community	51	45.9%
I wanted to improve local services	48	43.2%
I wanted to resolve an issue	30	27.0%
I wanted to have my say	29	26.1%
I was asked to get involved	25	22.5%
I had spare time to do it	24	21.6%

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I thought it would give me a chance to learn new skills/use my existing skills	23	20.7%
It was connected with the needs of my family/friends	22	19.8%
Had earlier positive experience of getting involved	20	18.0%
I wanted to meet people/make friends	17	15.3%
My political beliefs	12	10.8%
I thought it would help my career	12	10.8%

Note. n= 111 in total who responded to this item.

RQ3. To what extent do black Caribbeans believe they can influence political decisions affecting their local area and the country?

Of the 1100, 42% definitely agreed/tended to agree that they could influence political decisions affecting their local area, 52% tended to disagree/definitely disagreed, and 7% were unsure. Fewer believed they could influence political decisions at the country level: (26% definitely agreed/tended to agree vs 67% disagree/definitely disagreed vs. 7% were unsure). The 2009-2010 survey reports that only 37% of the general population believed they could influence political decisions at the local level and 25% at the country level, showing that black Caribbeans had higher local political efficacy, but similar country level efficacy.

RQ4. To what extent did generation status, age, and sex matter in black Caribbean civic engagement?

The results of the binary logistic regression are found in Table 5. Findings demonstrate that females were more likely to enact civic engagement than males, that generational status did matter, and that political efficacy for the local area significantly predicted civic engagement. Contrast testing revealed that 1.5 generation black Caribbeans were twice as likely to enact civic engagement as those of first generation. Second, whilst age did not matter overall ($p = .062$), contrast testing revealed that black Caribbeans between the ages of 35 and 49 were 1.7 times more likely to enact civic engagement than those ages 16 through 25. Otherwise, there was no significant difference between the age groups. Third, black Caribbeans who were unsure or tended to disagree/definitely disagreed that they had influence over political decisions in their local areas were less likely to enact

civic engagement. Interestingly enough, those who were unsure (rather than tend to/definitely disagreed) had the smallest odds to enact civic engagement. Fourth, the degree of deprivation was not important in predicting civic engagement for these adults. Finally, we point out that the predicting model explained only 7% of the variation we see in black Caribbean adults' civic engagement. Thus, whilst sex, generation status, political efficacy and, to some extent, age were significant predictors, other factors are necessary to account for the variation we see in civic engagement.

Table 5

Binary logistic results for regressing age, sex, and generation status onto civic engagement

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp (B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
IMD 2007(proxy for SES)			1.08	4	.897			
IMD category (2) less deprived	.25	.47	.277	1	.599	1.3	.51	3.2
IMD category (3)	.19	.38	.252	1	.615	1.2	.58	2.5
IMD category (4)	.07	.35	.043	1	.835	1.1	.54	2.2
IMD category (5) most deprived	.02	.34	.003	1	.960	1.0	.52	2.0
Females	.32	.13	5.76	1	.016*	1.4	1.1	1.8
Generation Status			8.06	3	.045*			
1.5 Generation	.70	.25	7.82	1	.005*	2.0	1.2	3.3
2 nd Generation	.20	.19	1.15	1	.283	1.2	.85	1.8
3 rd Generation	.18	.23	.613	1	.434	1.2	.76	1.9
Age			10.5	5	.062			
Age (26-34)	.17	.25	.468	1	.494	1.2	.73	1.9
Age (35-49)	.52	.24	4.79	1	.029*	1.7	1.1	2.7
Age (50-64)	.38	.28	1.89	1	.169	1.5	.85	2.5

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Age (65-74)	.39	.30	1.67	1	.196	1.5	.82	2.7
Age (75+)	-.27	.36	.565	1	.452	.76	.38	1.5
Beliefs about influence on local area			23.0	2	.000*			
Beliefs about influence on local area (unsure)	-1.4	.33	18.3	1	.000*	.25	.13	.47
Beliefs about influence on local area (tend to/definitely disagree)	-.40	.13	9.21	1	.002*	.67	.51	.87
Constant	-.91	.42	4.73	1	.030*	.40		
N	1076							
Nagelkerke R ²	.07							
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	$\chi^2(8) = 6.18, p = .628$							

Note. * = significant at the .05 level. IMD = Index for Multiple Deprivation. C.I. = confidence interval. For contrast testing, referent groups were: IMD category (1) least deprived, males, folks ages 16-25, folks who were 1st generation, folks who tended to/definitely agree that they could influence political decisions in their local area.

DISCUSSION

Our analysis of black Caribbean adults in the United Kingdom shows that, overall, just over a third reported enacting some form of civic engagement. We found that black Caribbean adults have a higher tendency to contact government representatives than complete questionnaires and consult with others within formal spaces on topics that matter to them. They are also least likely to engage in demonstrations, civil protest, and attend rallies. These trends are similar to those found within the general population, suggesting that black Caribbean adults enact civic engagement in manners similar to those of the general population. Interestingly, black Caribbean adult females were more likely to be civically engaged than males. Trends across the globe show that females are achieving gender parity in civic participation (though not representation) in the Western world and in some developing nation states (WJP, 2015). The fact that black Caribbean females were ahead of males on these measures demonstrates that they have surpassed the mark for gender parity within this society. While this study did not examine social networks, we can infer that black Caribbean females may be more deeply connected through community networks and organizations than their male counterparts.

Overall, since the majority of black Caribbean adults did not report enacting civic engagement in these measures studied, this raises the question as to which forms they actually engage in (if any). On one hand, findings can lead readers to conclude that the majority of black Caribbean adults are apathetic to politics and do not enact civic engagement. However, it is equally possible that they enact civic engagement in ways not captured by this survey. Note that forty percent of the respondents and seventy percent of their parents were born outside the United Kingdom, which suggests that they may have different social norms for civic engagement.

We know that civic engagement within the Caribbean region takes many forms. Common ones are publicly endorsing candidates, engaging in political talk, attending rallies, following televised debates; voting; joining unions; and participating in labour strikes and walk-outs (Bourne et al., 2010; Hewitt, 1998; Nurse, 2004). Earlier forms also included delineating national identities and securing full citizenship rights in the post-colonial era (Bethel, 2000) whereas more contemporary forms utilize social media for political expression (Waller, 2013). Civic engagement is also promoted by higher education institutions that support initiatives such as service learning, action research within local communities, advocacy campaigns, socially responsive scholarly agendas, and public dialogue around important social issues (Bowen, 2013). Some of these actions clearly align with the items on the survey, though others do not. Thus, it is important that surveys have open-ended items to capture ways in which individuals desire to engage civically. Second, if civic engagement is enacted in ways that differ between the settler society and country of birth, politicians and other representatives can mobilize second and third generation ethnic group members to bridge the gap in understanding for newcomers. This would empower first generation folks with knowledge of civic engagement norms that, if enacted, would allow them to have more political impact in their communities.

It is quite possible, though, that first generation black Caribbeans do not lack knowledge of civic engagement norms, but rather choose to not engage in them for various reasons. For example, previous research has identified environmental factors that may contribute to low levels of civic engagement among Black and other ethnic minority groups. While these environmental factors were not a focus in our analyses, it is important to draw attention to them, especially given the United Kingdom's long-standing objective of integration. Some of these environmental factors include feelings of group alienation, skepticism about whether their vote matters, the perception that politicians do not represent their community needs, and logistical difficulties in becoming more engaged (Richards & Marshall, 2002).

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Interestingly, the generation we see enacting the highest degree of civic engagement is generation 1.5 (i.e. born to one foreign-born and one UK-born parent or born outside the United Kingdom to UK-born parents). This is a rather peculiar pattern because we would expect second and third generation black Caribbeans to be more acculturated to United Kingdom's social expectations for civic engagement. The pattern here suggests that civic engagement increases between the first and 1.5 generations. However, it goes back down by the second and third generations to levels somewhat equivalent to those of the first generation. These findings conflict with the findings of previous studies for ethnic minorities. We know, however, that black Caribbean adults within the United Kingdom experience a number of social disadvantages. It is possible, then, that the cumulative effects of these social disadvantages attenuate the level of civic engagement we expect to see by the second and third generations. Since civic engagement is positively related to social mobility, these patterns suggest downward assimilation for this group by the second and third generations.

This distinct difference seen with generation 1.5 implies certain advantages of multinational households since the majority of households for generation 1.5 in this sample had one parent from outside the United Kingdom. Segmented assimilation theory informs us that the children of immigrants who endorse both cultures (their native culture as well as the host society culture) tend to overcome the pull of downward assimilation as well as the effects of having parents who have low human capital. It is possible, therefore, that having one parent from outside the United Kingdom increases the funds of knowledge, diversity in social ties, social capital, and ways of being that children can draw from as they navigate society. Future studies can attend to this question and identify what these specific advantages are as they relate to civic engagement.

The two main reasons that black Caribbeans became involved civically were to serve their communities and to improve local services. Black Caribbean orientation towards community service aligns with findings in the literature that show that black Caribbeans in the United Kingdom have preserved aspects of their respective cultural beliefs and familial traditions (e.g. holidays, cultural celebrations), thus fostering a general collectivist orientation. Further, experiences of oppression and non-institutionalized prejudice have helped to foster their in-group solidarity and maintenance of a sense of collectivism (e.g. Willis, 2012). Research, however, shows that ethnic minorities who tend to associate with only their ethnicity or join organizations that largely comprise their cultural group are less likely to become civically engaged (Uslaner & Conley, 2003) and have less social capital (Laurence, 2009). Since black Caribbean civic engagement is associated with improving the public good, an effective strategy may be to capitalize on and promote in-group solidarity towards community service. At the same time, it would be necessary to encourage black Caribbeans to collectively branch out into other social networks that are representative of the bridging relationships specified by Putman

(1993, 2000) in order to achieve the weaving of networks of social cooperation that would allow more and greater impact at a higher scale and power.

Finally, black Caribbeans reported higher local political efficacy than the general population. This aligns with the strong sense of citizenship and British identity that Reynolds (2006) reports for this ethnic group. It also suggests that black Caribbeans have a greater sense of their voice being heard compared to the general population. It was peculiar, though, that those who reported being unsure of their local influence were the group least likely to be civically engaged. It appears, then that being uncertain is more problematic than any other opinion. It is therefore important that communities introduce strategies to boost community members' political efficacy and provide tangible opportunities for community members to witness their influence on political decision-making. While there is much research that can inform what these strategies may be, less of the research comes from exploring the ideas by generation status. It may be wise to draw upon country-specific research that informs on effective practices and implement them in first and second generation communities within settler societies. By increasing political efficacies, communities are able to influence greater levels of political and social change among all citizens.

Of particular relevance among our results is the role of civic education as a promising strategy for promoting social capital. Civics' ability to increase social networks that support integration and positive community bonds clearly emphasizes its importance. The approach can lead to greater inclusion, understanding, and integration in one's community. Individuals who understand how their voice and actions impact the greater good are more likely to use them in positive ways. Given this, civic education implies a form of activism, an ability to enact change to make a difference or address issues. In essence, actions taken by citizens in the name of civic education work towards building a healthier democracy and enhance the common good, which are fundamental tenets of activism. Communities that provide avenues for citizens to gain a deeper level of government and societal participation will increase levels of civic participation among their members. They will also increase community members' understanding of how their collective civic power influences the actions and decision-making processes of their government for matters that impact them and their communities.

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